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INFO USLO PEKING

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CINCPAF FOR POLAD

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TAGS: PINT PINR PROP CH

SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN AGAINST TENG INTENSIFIES--SIGNALS STILL MIXED

REF: HONG KONG 1822

SUMMARY; ESCALATION OF LEVEL OF ATTACKS AGAINST TENG HISAO-PING AND IMPLICATION THAT OTHER TARGETS ARE SOON TO COME TO THE FORE COUPLED WITH APPARENT EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN LEVELS OF CONTROL AND DIRECTION TO THE DEBATE PROVIDE MIXED SIGNALS OVER THE FUTURE COURSE OF CHINA'S MONTH-OLD PUBLIC IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE/POWER STRUGGLE. THE ABSENCE OF ANY CLEAR REGIME GUIDELINES FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE CAMPAIGN USUALLY GIVEN IN THE FORM OF EDITORIAL COMMENT--DEMONSTRATES THE LEADERSHIP DIVISION AND INCREASES THE POTENTIAL FOR DISTURBANCES, DESPITE THE APPARENT DESIRE TO AVOID CONFRONTATIONS. TENG'S DISMISAL SEEMS TO BE INEVITABLE, AND THE FUTURE PACES OF

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THE CAMPAIGN IS LIKELY TO REVEAL THE RELATIVE TRENTHS OF

THE MAJOR FORCES IN THE LEADERSHIP. END SUMMARY.

1. RECENT SPECIFIC NAMING OF TENG HISAO-PING IN POSTERS ON PEKING CAMPUSES (HK 2272) COUPLED WITH APPARENT WIDER POSTER ATTACKS AGAINST TENG IN OTHER CITIES IN CHINA SEEMS TO GIVE THE VICE PREMIER LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF A SUCCESSFUL COMEBACK. REUTER'S FEBRUARY 29 STATEMENT FROM A CHINESE OFFICIAL THAT TENG HAS NO CHANCE TO REDEEM HIMSELF IS A CLEAR SIGN THAT DECISIONS MUST HAVE RECENTLY BEEN MADE TO CUT TENG LOOSE FROM HIS POSITION. (CHINESE OFFICIALS HAD REPEATEDLY ASSURED INQUIRERS BEFORE THIS THAT TENG REMAINED AT WORK AND HIS TITLES INTACT).

2. CRITICISM IN THE PUBLIC MEDIA HAS REFRAINED FROM ATTACKING TENG BY NAME BUT THE REFERENCES TO "THAT" CAPITALIST ROADER AND THE USE OF THE PRONOUN "HE" IN BOTH PROVINCIAL MEDIA AND THE PEOPLE'S DAILY MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THERE IS A SINGLE SPECIFIC TARGET FOR THE MOMENT. A MAJOR COMMENTARY BY LIANG HISAO--THIS TIME IN COLLABORATION WITH JEN MING--HAS ALSO REPEATED TENG'S STATEMENT ON "WHITE CATS AND BLACK CATS" AND ASSOCIATED THIS WITH THE MAN UNDER ATTACK (FEBRUARY 29). THE ARTICLE, HOWEVER, IMPLICITLY KEEPS THE SCOPE OF THE ATTACK BROAD BY ASSERTING THAT MANY PRE-LIBERATION CADRES NEVER BECAME SOCIALISTS AND STILL CARRY OUT AN INCORRECT POLICY.

3. THE CAMPAIGN HAS ALREADY BROADENED TO SOME EXTENT WITH POSTER ATTACKS ON PROVINCIAL FIGURES AND RAILROAD MINISTER WAN LI (HK 2038 AND 2072) AND NEWSPAPER REPORTS TODAY INDICATE THAT FORMER KWANGTUNG FIRST SECRETARY/CURRENT SZECHWAN FIRST SECRETARY CHAO TZU-YANG IS AMONG THOSE NAMED IN CANTON POSTERS. IN ADDITION, CANTON PURPORTEDLY HAS POSTERS QUESTIONING PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S ROLE IN THE REHABILITATION OF TENG IN 1973 AND THE WIRE SERVICES NOTE STORIES OF CLASHES BETWEEN RIVAL POSTER-MAKERS THERE WHICH HAD TO BE STOPPED BY THE MILITIA. ALTHOUGH, LOCALIZED THE NAMING OF CHOU IS A MAJOR ESCALATION DESPITE, A SERIES OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES IN PEOPLE'S DAILY AND KWANGMING WHICH CONTAINED UNMISTAKABLE ALLUSIONS TO ATTACKS ON CHOU-PRIMARILY AS A RESURGENCE OF ANTO-CONFUCIUS CAMPAIGN LITERATURE OF 1974.

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4. NEVERTHELESS, THERE ARE STILL EFFORTS TO KEEP THE DEBATE UNDER CONTROL. LIAO CHEN-CHIH IN HIS FEBRUARY 28 SPEECH ON THE TAIWAN UPRISING ANNIVERSARY REFERRED TO THE "GREAT DEBATE" AS HUA HAD DONE IN HIS TOAST WITH NIXON (HK 2059) BUT WENT FURTHER TO DEFINE REGIME DESIRES TO KEEP "UNITY AND STABILITY" AND TO PROMOTE PRODUCTION AS THE WAY TO BUILD "POWERFUL MODERN SOCIALIST CHINA", ALTHOUGH WITHIN THE

CONTEXT OF "TAKING CLASS STRUGGLE AS THE KEY LINK."
(NCNA'S RETALLING OF OTHER SPEECHES AT THE MEETING INDICATED AN UPGRADING OF NANA'S LEVEL OF ATTACK WITH THEIR FIRST USE OF "STRUGGLE" IN PLACE OF "DEBATE" THE NEXT DAY.) LIAO FUTHER TOOK UNUSUAL PAINS TO NAME PREMIER CHOU BY CITING HIM AT THE FOURTH NPC IN JANUARY 1975 REPEATING THE OFT- STATED PHRASE ABOUT LIBERATING TAIWAN. ANOTHER LIAO RE- FERENCE TO LAST YEAR'S ANMESTIES FOR NATIONALISTS PRISONERS ALSO URGED A POLICY OF ALLOWING PEOPLE TO CORRECT THEM- SELVES WHICH IN THE CURRENT DOMESTIC CONTEXT HAS ITS OWN IMPLICATIONS FOR THOSE CRITICIZED.

5. COMMENT: THE GRADUAL AND APPARENTLY CONTROLLED PACE OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TENG AND CAPITALIST ROADERS IN THE PARTY HAS GIVEN THE EFFORT AN IMAGE OF STABILITY AND DIREC- TION WHICH BELIES THE OBVIOUS DEEP DIVISION IN THE LEADER- SHIP. WE ARE STRUCK BY THE ABSENCE OF REGIME GUIDLINES FOR THE CARRYING OUT OF THE CMPAIGN WHICH, IN THE PAST EVEN WHEN THEY WERE OFTEN IGNORED--WERE SET IN ADVANCE OF THE CAMPAIGN'S UNFOLDING. THIS PROBALY INDICATED AN INABILITY ON THE PART OF THE TOP LEADERSHIP TO REACH CONSENSUS ON THE SPECIFICS OF THE GUIDLINES AND, THEREFORE, ONLY THE PERHAPS TEMPORARY AGREEMENT THAT THINGS MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO GET OT OF HAND AND TOO WIDELY DEBATED AMONG THE MASSES.

6. THE ANOMALIES OF THIS CAMPAIGN ARE STRIKING. THE PLA-- WHICH APPEARED IN STRENGTH AT THE FEBRUARY 28 TAIWAN UP- RISING MEETING HEADED BY CHEN HSI-LIEN, HSU HSIANG-CHIEN AND THE THREE REHABILITEES WHO ACTIVELY HEAD THE MILITARY DE- PARTMENTS--STILL HAS NOT JOINED IN THE ATTACK AND NO PLA UNITS HAVE BEEN INVOLVED TO DATE. PROVINCIAL OFFICIAL HAVE IN GENERAL STAYED AWAY FROM THE OVERT PARTS OF THE CAMPAIGN IN THEIR BAILIWICKS AND AS YET THERE APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN NO CONFIDENTIAL

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MASS RALLIES. POLITBURO APPEARANCES SEEM ALMOST EXCLUSIVE- LY CONFINED TO THOSE IDENTIFIED WITH THE IDEOLOGICAL CAMP.

7. OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS WE WOULD EXPECT THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TENG AND THE OTHERS TO CONTINUE TO ESCALATE ALONG THE PACE CURRENTLY DICTATED FROM THE CENTER. THENG'S PUBLIC IDENTIFICATION BY NAME IN THE MEDIA IS THE NEXT LOGICAL STEP AND SHOULD THEN BE FOLLOWED BY CALLS TO REMOVE HIS FROM OFFICE. WE WILL PARTICULARLY BE LOOKING AT THE ANOMALIES WE HAVE NOTED ABOVE WITH A VIEW TO DETERMING HOW THE PACE AND ORCHESTRATION OF THE CAMPAIGN REVEALS THE RELATIVE STRENGTHS OF THE GROUPS INVOLVED AT THE CENTER.
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